

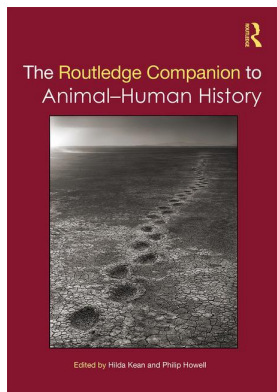
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HUNTING AND
ANIMAL–HUMAN HISTORY*Philip Howell***Introduction**

The antiquity and ubiquity of hunting is everywhere acknowledged. If killing animals is our predominant mode of engagement with nonhuman others, hunting is surely our oldest and most enduring relationship, ‘the dominant occupation of ancestral people for the greater part of their existence on earth’.¹ Those who detest hunting and see it as exemplary of human exploitation of other animals, as an atavistic pursuit with no place in the modern world, will cavil at the idea of a *relationship* between hunter and prey, and will very likely miss or play down its enduring *historical* significance as a result. Those on the other hand who hold hunting to embody the highest and most honourable rapport with nonhuman animals and the natural world, and who see hunting as authorised by nature as much as legitimated by tradition, run the risk of portraying the hunt as so ancient and universal a practice that it seems to stand outside human history altogether. For the historian neither standpoint is of any help, but it is worth noting these extremes and pointing out right from the start that any history of hunting is going to be contentious. As the zooarchaeologist Naomi Sykes notes, our attitude to wild animals, and their deaths by human hands, says a lot about us, about our respective cultures and convictions.² The history of hunting speaks to who we were, but also to who ‘we’ believe we are.

Given this situation it is also best to state the argument here as straightforwardly as I can, which is simply that hunting does indeed always imply a relationship between nonhuman and human animal, however asymmetrical or unreciprocated, whatever else we feel about the ethics or morality of hunting (that is, by whom it is pursued, in what ways, and for what reasons). At the same time we need to insist that hunting belongs to history, in the face of all attempts to naturalise it and erase its historicity and specificity. Given that hunting is undertaken for so many reasons – for food and other necessities, for the eradication of predators or pests, for commercial profit, social performance or political propaganda, or simply for ‘sport’ – it is also sensible here to insist on hunting’s *histories* in the plural. The purpose of writing this chapter is to assert the historical importance of hunting and the relationship

it produces between humans and other animals, but at the same time its protean nature, since it takes so many different forms in different circumstances – from the most practical exigencies to the most leisured of princely luxuries, with or without the sanction of society, the animal quarry alternately portrayed as the noblest game or the basest vermin. It is invidious to pretend that hunting can be reduced to a single meaning, good or bad; and only the most partisan can pretend that the hunting scenes depicted on the cave walls of Lascaux are continuous with, say, the social media profiles of today's trophy hunters.³ Erasing the 'great flexibility' built into what for want of any better word we call 'hunting' is no more of an option than seeing it as 'the oldest expression of our genetic nature' and denying its historical significance altogether.⁴

Hunting hypotheses

We should nevertheless note the enduring association between meat-eating, big game hunting, and our human evolution, if only to highlight the problems in arguing that hunting belongs to nature rather than to history. Let us start then with the 'hunting hypothesis', the notion that human evolution drastically speeded up with the transition from herbivorous or omnivorous scavenger to confirmed carnivore, not only in terms of the benefits of a meat-rich diet but more importantly as the stimulus to both bigger brains and higher intelligence and the sophisticated, complex social organisation that hunting for large game seems to demand.⁵ The argument goes that prehumans left the African forests for the savannah some 2 or 3 million years ago, developed the taste for meat, and began the long journey to modern humanity.⁶ The most modern versions of the 'hunting hypothesis' assert, in the portentous but predictable journalistic shorthand, that 'hunting makes us human'.⁷ This portrait of 'Man the Hunter' (aka the 'Hunting Ape' or 'Killer Ape' theory), has been subject to decades of criticism, but the hunting hypothesis refuses to die, and it is regularly invoked, not least by those concerned to defend hunting. Here for example is the hunting advocate and antagonist of animal rights activists Ward M. Clark, praising the hunt as not only natural but 'part of our heritage as human beings':

Hunting is indeed what makes us human; hunting is what led humans to cooperate, to plan, to anticipate, to form society. The first great turning point in Mankind's development was when two unrelated families found they could hunt large animals by working together, and so be more efficient at obtaining high-quality food; thus was the first tribe born. Hunting has made us what we are.⁸

Such pro-hunting apologia are common enough, and would need little comment in an academic overview save for the paradoxical placing of hunting as simultaneously entirely natural and fully human, a point to which we want to return. So when the likes of Clark argue that 'Man is and has long been a terminal predator, as marvelously equipped for hunting by our intellect as a lion is by his claws and fangs, as a wolf is by his swift legs and pack instinct', the divide between humans and animals

seems briefly to dissolve, only to reappear in the argument that there is something special about *human* predators, namely the role that hunting played in the cultural and social evolution of human beings.⁹

The general argument has a long lineage, but in its most familiar form is the product of the anatomist Raymond Dart and the physical anthropologist Sherwood Washburn in the 1950s, subsequently popularised by the science writer Robert Ardrey in the 1960s and 1970s. Ardrey's *The Hunting Hypothesis* appeared in 1975, the culminating volume in his bestselling series on 'The Nature of Man', taking in the African origins of humanity, the social evolutionary significance of aggression, territoriality, hierarchy and inequality – before arriving specifically at the history of hunting. As the academic and popular enthusiasm for his work at the time is hard to recapture, it is worth nodding to Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), in which Ardrey's ideas were given cinematic immortality. In the 'Dawn of Man' prologue, the awakening insight of the single ape/ape-man/man-ape (he is named 'Moon-Watcher' in the Arthur C. Clarke novel) propels these proto-humans from fearful, huddled herbivores to aggressive predators, and from primate to 'man', the very start of the journey that will take humanity to the nearer planets and the furthest stars, and an unforeseeable evolutionary destiny.¹⁰ It is a sequence justly famous for command of cinematic narrative, so much so that Kubrick is able to encapsulate the complex notion that hunting predates humanity and at the same time represents humans' escape route from nature and necessity. In miniature, it reproduces Ardrey's then-controversial argument for human beings' animal inheritance and the biological and social chasm that separates us from our animal cousins, if not from nature itself. In Ardrey's words, hunting conferred upon humans momentous and irrevocable consequences, making the human being a truly 'cultural animal', though this very path-dependence makes humans 'biological prisoners of cultural advances'.¹¹

It is worth underscoring the paradoxical *pas de deux* of 'culture' and 'nature' essayed by Ardrey, here and in his symphonic 'Nature of Man' series as a whole, if only to avoid subsequent misrepresentation: not only the use and abuse of the 'hunting hypothesis' by pro-hunting groups, who see only 'nature', but also by many opponents of the hunting hypothesis, who see only 'culture'. It is easy enough to portray the likes of the amateur or armchair anthropologist Ardrey as apologists for the absolute identity of morality and evolutionary biology. Critics will cite the positive spin that Ardrey seems to place on this history of violence, his plea for a view of the human as a 'risen ape' rather than a 'fallen angel' falling on deaf ears. Critics have played up the most misanthropic aspects of the hunting hypothesis, its familiar strains of 'Paradise Lost'. A bald account of the 'hunting hypothesis' pits human *against* animal, culture *against* nature – as summarised by the evolutionary anthropologist Matt Cartmill in his influential commentary on the nature and meaning of hunting:

the central propositions of the hunting hypothesis – that hunting and its selection pressures had made men and women out of our apelike ancestors, instilled a taste for violence in them, estranged them from the animal kingdom, and excluded them from the order of nature – became familiar themes of the national culture, and the picture of *Homo sapiens* as a mentally

unbalanced predator threatening an otherwise harmonious natural realm became so pervasive that it ceased to provoke comment.¹²

The implications for sexual and gender relations have been particularly obvious to critics of the hypothesis's misogyny as well as misanthropy. Feminist anthropologists have been especially keen to demolish the myth of 'Man the hunter', because of its apparent naturalisation of gender dualisms and hierarchies in 'the male-centred hunting story', as Donna Haraway puts it.¹³ Star billing is reserved for aggressive alpha-male protagonists, females of all species being reduced to a secondary, subordinate, stay-at-home 'Woman the Gatherer' role. Some have argued, very vehemently, against the assumptions of this masculinist narrative, promoting the countervailing claims of foraging for hominid adaptation (the so-called 'gathering hypothesis'), or forwarding the participation of women in hunting game, small or large, or by rejecting the opposition between 'hunting' and 'gathering' upon which such a straightforward sexual division of labour rests.¹⁴ But it is perhaps the importance attached to 'culture' *over* 'nature' that deserves comment. For many critics of the hunting hypothesis, many feminists amongst them, the history of hunting needs to be taken away from 'nature'. The most extensive and extreme critique has come from Donna Haraway, who has consistently sought to expose the proximate cultural determinants of these supposedly scientific and objective views of hunting, apes and humans, men and women.¹⁵ For Haraway, such evolutionary narratives are a form of 'imaginary history' – critiquing here not merely the speculative 'just-so stories' familiar from the worst kind of evolutionary biology or sociobiology, but any suggestion that such scientism has a privileged access to empirical reality. There is a great deal of worth in scepticism of this kind – we might recall that Raymond Dart based his early conclusions on australopithecine bone shards, whose fragmentary and ambiguous nature did not prevent him from spinning a story of ape-to-human evolution that sounds to us now more like something out of the zombie carnage of AMC's *The Walking Dead* than sober science, picturing our ancestors in prose as lividly purple as a day-old bruise:

Confirmed killers: carnivorous creatures that seized living quarries by violence, battered them to death, tore apart their broken bodies, dismembered them limb from limb, slaking their ravenous thirst with the hot blood of the victims and greedily devouring living writhing flesh.¹⁶

All the same, to reduce every such foray into the 'deep history' of hunting as no more than inventive fictions, with nothing much to tell us apart from the political circumstances of their elaboration and dissemination, seems like throwing in the towel without a blow being landed. We run the risk of capitulating to those who reject evolution or natural selection *tout court*, or to those, such as the pro-hunting advocates cited earlier, who cherry-pick from the academic literature, use selective quotation or straw man rhetoric to score their partisan points, or simply draw unwarranted inferences, confusing is with ought, then with now – for of course even if we swallowed the hunting hypothesis whole, that hardly represents a decisive justification of, say, the 'Paleo' diet, meat-eating (or for that matter cannibalism):

nothing here makes meat-eating ‘natural’ in this sense.¹⁷ Even the biological anthropologist Craig Britton Stanford notes that:

Important aspects of the behaviour of some higher primates – hunting and meat sharing and the social and cognitive skills that enable these behaviors – are shared evolved traits with humans and point to the origins of human intelligence. This does not mean that there is an instinctive desire to hunt on the part of all modern humans; only a small percentage of people in industrialized countries have ever hunted for anything that’s alive.¹⁸

Hunting histories

The hunting hypothesis continues to be extraordinarily influential. Some of the earlier contentions and reasoning have been dropped in quiet embarrassment, others revised in the light of further evidence and innovations in interpretation, but the significance for early humans of meat provided by hunters is still regularly asserted.¹⁹ Recent work in the field has rowed back on the competing claims of ‘scavenging’, whilst the significance of ‘hunting’ for prehistoric peoples has been reinstated in popular scientific journalism.²⁰ The problem for historians is not so much the intricacies of these debates, however, for which I can claim no expertise, but rather that the focus has been so much on the very remotest *antiquity*, something that inevitably lends hunting a consistency of purpose and meaning that can only be misleading. For the unwary, hunting can appear continuous from the ‘dawn of Man’ to the present day, speciously linking hunting as a means of survival to hunting as mere ‘lifestyle’. One could cite any number of examples, but here, for fun, is the prominent Paleo-enthusiast Mark Sisson, replying to a hunting enthusiast on his prominent fitness blog, name-checking as he does so his creation ‘Grok’, the poster-boy for his ‘Primal Blueprint’:

I’ll admit – I’m no hunter. I don’t own a gun or a bow and arrow. I buy my (admittedly local, organic, and sustainable) meat. But the question Chuck poses is a fascinating one. Truly, what’s more Primal, more Grok-like, than stalking a wild animal for its meat? Poised over your prey, heart pounding, waiting for the perfect time to strike . . . the very idea feels raw, visceral, and utterly Primal. Pure. Man versus animal. Wit against brawn.²¹

It would take a more charitable temperament than I possess not to smirk at these sophistries, but it is evident how the ‘hunting hypothesis’ and the scientific search for human evolution can be bastardised into such hopeless histories. In point of fact, killing does not seem to come so naturally, and wild animal killing – or at least the evidence for it – has been sometimes more, and sometimes less common, rather than a constant, ‘primal’ pursuit. Moreover, the meaning of eating meat, and we may add the meaning of the hunt for game, is always ‘dynamic, varied, multifaceted and context dependent’.²² The histories of hunting are so complex that they defy even the most expert summarisers, and I restrict myself in what follows to noting only the

most prominent themes in the literature, with no claim to comprehensiveness or evenness of coverage.

These caveats aside, we should, like the most enthusiastic ascetics, put the demands of the stomach firmly in their place. It is eminently possible, for both popular and academic accounts of hunting and meat-eating, to miss the fact that, like meat-eating, hunting is about pleasure and power as much as it is about protein.²³ John Speth has asked, for instance, in a deliberately counter-intuitive questioning of the perceived evolutionary advantages of hunting for large game (as opposed to hunting/scavenging for smaller game, or the herbivorous foraging that provided the vast bulk of ancient human diets), why our ancestors hunted at all.²⁴ For if meat from large animal prey was not so critical and energy-efficient a part of the early human diet as has sometimes been supposed, then we may reasonably ask what it was for. Speth's answer, along with others who have supported the various 'show off' or 'signalling' models for hunting, is that the practice has as much to do with men's social status as their families' or communities' sustenance.²⁵ This view is not canonical, but perhaps we can say, as cautiously as we can, that hunting in prehistory was a social and political pursuit as well as a source of meat and other resources for survival. And the more-than-subsistence significance of hunting must be more important still in the era of domestication, agriculture, and recorded history. As Thomas Allsen has put it, 'with successful domestication of plants and animals, the economic importance of hunting steadily decreases while its political significance steadily increases'.²⁶ This does not mean that hunting for game was negligible, or increasingly so; hunting for food, as well as for commercial profit, remains very significant in human history, and we might even link it to the 'accumulation by appropriation' upon which capitalist modernity depends.²⁷ Nor is this meant to suggest that what Allsen calls 'political hunting' and 'economic hunting' are quite so easy to differentiate. What it does indicate is that we should not let the significance of hunting for subsistence or survival, extending down to the indigenous and ancestral peoples of our own day, outweigh the long history of hunting as a cultural and political pursuit.²⁸

The stress on hunting as *spectacle*, as a 'social and political drama', is hardly surprising, particularly if we place our focus on the elites, for whom, from the earliest days, the political importance of hunting predominates. J. Donald Hughes writes for instance that 'Hunting for its own sake as a sport, or in order to collect trophies and boast of one's own proficiency and success, is a pastime that probably developed soon after humankind began to live in urban conditions'.²⁹ Going back to the earliest literature, we know from the likes of Gilgamesh and Linear B, that hunting had acquired a special symbolic significance in the archaic world, where the importance of hunting for gods and heroes, kings and nobles is everywhere attested. For the elites, hunting, or at least a significant part of it, was a display of virtue and prowess and a training for warfare, a potent form of propaganda and a performance of politics in its own right.³⁰ It is necessary to stress at this point that the culture of hunting was the product and support for a pre-eminently male and masculine world. Hunting as the exercise and performance of power invariably meant male privilege and authority. I write this with more than usual tentativeness, as the contribution of women as hunters is easy to overlook, but setting aside the mythic hunters of the ancient world, the sisters of Atalanta and Artemis whose mythic transgressions perhaps only served

to underscore the power of the male hunter, hunting for game in the ancient world was a male pursuit.³¹ The further back in history we go, with all due respect to the likely invisibility of woman-as-hunter, parity between the sexes is even less obvious. Hunting played an unmistakable role in the construction of male gender identities in ancient Greece, for instance, with no equivalent at all for the adolescent or mature female. The language of the hunt was also freighted with sexual connotations ('venery') that point up the differences accorded to boys and girls, men and women; the enduring metaphoric equivalence of hunting and sexual pursuit by men underlines hunting's role in reproducing and not merely reflecting social norms.³² Despite the greater contribution of women to the world of hunting in different times and places, hunting in history is disproportionately a male and a masculine pastime.³³

As already noted, the popularity and legitimacy of hunting seems to have waxed and waned. The Romans, to take a well-known instance, seem by contrast to earlier and later societies, to exhibit little distinctive enthusiasm for hunting, even if its exotic and demotic appeal is obvious in the mock hunts of the arenas. Notable, for instance, is a critique and condemnation of the hunt's extravagance.³⁴ But even in this context of suspicion, Roman hunting still appears as 'an important device which demonstrated elite identity and social power within the landscape', in the words of the zooarchaeologist Martyn Allen, though immediately before asking what is surely the wrong question: 'was it really *hunting*, or merely hollow demonstrations by the wealthy few?'³⁵ The only sensible response is that we cannot define hunting merely by such utilitarian concerns as how much meat actually made it to the dining table: hunting has long been about power and authority, and even when a hunted animal is placed 'on the table', in virtually all societies it has typically been divided and distributed to different people according to complex criteria of desert and distinction. It is injudicious to trace too neat demarcations, but some have seen a waning of the communal spiritual reverence for the wilderness and a replacement by elite patterns of hunting in the coming of the Roman world, and the supposed Roman indifference to the hunt must be matched by an awareness of aristocratic celebrations of hunting evident at least in the late Roman period, as for instance in the mid- to late-fourth century Sevso 'Hunting Plate', probably from what is now western Hungary.³⁶ Long before this, animals such as lions and boars were portrayed as the proper quarry of kings, emperors, and heroes, and at least by the late Roman period, hunting was praised as part of the tutelage of leaders.

From the end of the Roman power to the long middle ages, and all the way to the *ancien régimes* in Europe, if we can once more be forgiven a Western focus, we return to a world (if indeed we ever left it) where hunting was symbolically central to the exercise of authority as well as the elite status. In the spiritual realm, notably with the legend of Saint Eustache, Christianity found a rapprochement and indeed perhaps an enthusiastic reciprocity with the culture of the hunt, whilst in the temporal, the rulers of medieval Europe seem to have rediscovered and reinvigorated the ritual significance of the ancient, pan-Eurasian royal hunt. In England, for instance, the Norman regime may mark an aristocratic takeover of hunting (as Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* suggests), even if the process must have had a more complex genealogy. Naomi Sykes notes that the distribution of venison was from late Saxon times if not earlier increasingly restricted to the elite, suggesting that hunting had become 'less a

performance of group identity and more a display of royal or thegnly power'.³⁷ The Conquest did not replace a commensal and democratic Saxon culture with Norman elitism at a stroke. What the Normans do seem to have achieved was an unprecedented transformation of the hunting landscape and the environment, bringing in novel quarry, a refinement of techniques (such as the use of the horse, hound, and hawk, and the introduction of '*par force*' hunting, the running to exhaustion of a singular quarry), and, most importantly of all, the formalisation of legal restrictions on access to the large game animals that became royal or aristocratic prerogatives: deer, boar, swans, herons, and the like. Without denying their contribution to the diet of the nobles, we have to underline the importance of hunting to the social and political differentiation of the elite: 'Increasingly formalized and restrictive sport hunting and legal game conservation measures thus formed part of a complex marking differential access by elites to resources needed for their own maintenance and display'.³⁸ In one respect at least, medieval hunting was somewhat less exclusive, for by the early middle ages in Europe, there were more women involved in hunting – and especially in hawking – even if the ritual re-enactment of male domination is readily apparent.³⁹ In the high middle ages hunting became a remarkably stylised pastime, celebrated and codified in the manuals and treatises that separate the age of Charlemagne and the Franks from that of the French and the Capets. However enthusiastic as hunters these sovereigns and their courts were, the later texts' precise and specialist vocabulary provide the most obvious indication of hunting's courtly and elitist nature: 'taught and learnt as a system of precise language', the 'phrases of the field' acted as 'a semi-magical key to knowledge'.⁴⁰ The proper quarry for a noble were the 'beasts of venery' (the hare, hart, wolf and boar for instance) as opposed to the beasts of the chase (the buck, doe, fox, marten and roe deer), whilst 'vermin' such as the otter or the badger could be left to the peasants. As Anne Rooney emphasises, these differences have little to do with any inherent utility, nuisance or threat; these conventions simply serve to differentiate those who know how and what and when to hunt, and those who do not.⁴¹

The codification of hunting produces its antipode quite naturally: illegal hunting, or 'poaching', the kind of crimes that the Norman Forest Laws and their successors were intended to extirpate. Later Game Laws in Britain followed the long-standing aim of restricting the best hunting to the elite, criminalising hunting without a sufficient estate, hunting at night or in disguise, breaking into enclosed parkland, or being caught in possession of hunting instruments or hounds, with the most draconian punishments held in reserve for malefactors. Read with the interests of the common sort in mind, we have to acknowledge that the latter shared with the elite the passion for hunting, enjoyed its various pleasures, including the close contact with the natural world – and perhaps even more so the personal freedom it afforded. So we should not see even the hunting practices of the peasant as a matter of mere subsistence, of survival alone.⁴² Richard Almond is surely right to argue that in the middle ages in Europe hunting was central to the lives of all, exhibiting what he represents as a universal desire to hunt; Naomi Sykes, putting it in characteristically breezy fashion, asserts that by the mid-twelfth century in Europe hunting was the pop culture of the time.⁴³ The love of poaching speaks to the fact that 'country folk relished hunting, coursing, and fishing as much as their social superiors'.⁴⁴ Since the elites also hunted

with servants and tenants, there could emerge a powerful set of hunting interests linking the high with the low: this is one of the reasons why cross-class rural alliances have been part of the history of hunting, with the common man, and countryside communities, conscripted in the shared economic and social and political interests of the hunt as well as the shared enthusiasm for hunting and its freedoms.

The advent and elaboration of 'poaching' therefore attests to an enduring and widely shared love of hunting (and fishing), at the same time as it indicates the elites' attempts to put such indiscriminate enjoyments in their place. In countries like England there may well have been, for many centuries, a certain sympathy generated between the classes by a shared interest in hunting, underwritten by its masculine bravado: some have argued that the influence and example of the 'gentleman poacher' came to an end only in the eighteenth century, at which point poaching does seem to have completed its descent into criminality.⁴⁵ It will not do to reduce hunting's history to a stand-off between rich hunters and poor poachers, then, even if the unmistakable accents of class warfare can eventually be heard. In early modern England, complex alliances were evident, not simply the agonistic relationship of lord and peasant, and the same might be said of other cultures of poaching. At the same time, it is equally easy to romanticise and remove this complexity, indulging in this instance a characteristic feature of the English ideology, the supposed love of 'sport' that unites the interests of the classes, up to the most recent times. The political valorisation of hunting for all was increasingly suspect from at least the Game Laws of the fourteenth century, following as they did hard on the heels of the Peasants' Revolt, transforming this most universal of sports straightforwardly into a crime.⁴⁶ The association of hunting with sedition would last long into the modern age, and has not disappeared yet. So elite hunting privileges are in many places matched by the struggle of social subordinates to maintain their traditional rights.

This is particularly obvious when racial and imperial or colonial power is added to the mix. It is an unavoidable irony that the same elites who pursued and valued the pleasures of the hunt were those whose mass destruction of hunter-gatherer societies was such an unmistakable aspect of colonial history.⁴⁷ Richard Wilk writes, of Belize, that 'The hunt brought men together in sociable groups, emphasized colonial racial boundaries, and dramatically symbolized the dominion of white men over the landscapes which the Empire had conquered and controlled'.⁴⁸ In British North America, First Nations peoples might be conscripted in the commercial hunting of animals – and in the more mutually organised 'middle ground' of the fur trade their skills were well valued, but they would, in time, lose cultural autonomy and independence.⁴⁹ But hunting never had a chance of bringing colonists and colonised together; Virginia DeJohn Anderson's brilliant history of animals in early modern America points out in passing that 'The hierarchical underpinnings of English-style hunting . . . diminished its usefulness as a bridge to Indian culture'.⁵⁰ Even for settlers, the distance between the elites and the others was starkly laid out. In the American South, for instance, an 'English' style of hunting was preserved by the planters, similarly gentrified and harshly restrictive, but it collided with the pursuits of different communities with different visions, derived as they were from the activities of indigenous peoples, commercial hunters, slaves and free blacks, and white settlers, all of whom, for different reasons, championed the right to hunt.⁵¹ We can note this

community of interests, a universal right to hunt that goes back to the settling of America, without any pretence that these added up to a unified hunting *bloc*, a kind of incipient hunting lobby, let alone one that would come to be aligned with, say, the concerns of the NRA or the GOP.⁵² It is too easy, from either a pro-hunting or anti-hunting perspective, to miss the changing place of hunting in American history.⁵³ The ideological commitments of American sport hunting – America’s enduring ‘hunting myth’ – came much later, paradoxically when native big game was in decline.⁵⁴ And the American sport hunter was in any event wholly differentiated from the backwoodsman and the commercial hunter.⁵⁵ For sportsmen (and women), ‘sport’ meant a code of honour that draws distinctions between good hunters and bad. Even the undoubted contribution of sport hunting to American wildlife conservation needs to be tempered by an awareness of the process by which settlers were transformed into outlaws and enemies of nature in precisely the same period.⁵⁶ The lesson for historians is that we need to attend to proximate struggles rather than be beguiled by contemporary cultural politics.

Similar themes can be observed in other colonial and colonised societies, such as those of the British imperial world, where the lesson about the primacy of politics needs particular emphasis. There is now a very large literature indeed on the ‘intimate connection between hunting and imperialism’, albeit from a slow start.⁵⁷ John Mackenzie’s pioneering 1997 work, *The Empire of Nature*, made the case for hunting’s significance to the British Empire, including its contribution to imperial ecological management, but it needs to be supplemented now not only by an awareness of imperial hunting’s dependence on native knowledge and expertise and labour, its specific gender cultures, and the ramifying tragedies of imperial ecology, as well as by the parallel development of practices such as the ‘princely ecology’ of hunting in the Indian princely states.⁵⁸ We can see here that to an impressive degree the concerns of the ancient royal hunt were transposed to the modern age of empire, as ‘pageants of colonial power’, a ‘theatre of the powerless and the powerful, the wild and the tamed, and the “civilized” and the “uncivilized”’, as an ideal tableau of dominance and power.⁵⁹ Hunting and field sports appear in this new guise as a preparation for imperial duty, the killing of wildlife as a form of moral instruction, with women, for all their attempts to kick against the pricks, necessarily placed as ‘outsiders’ in this ethos of imperial masculinity.⁶⁰ All the same, colonial big-game hunting was a notably ‘invented tradition’, neither continuous with English ancestors nor with indigenous traditions. To some degree game hunters imported to the colonies part of what Mackenzie describes as a British hunting cult, but they also had to improvise, drawing all too selectively from native hunts as they did so, and at the same time reliant on native collaboration.⁶¹ British imperial hunts were designed to supplement and supplant the displays of local rulers, to dominate alike the natural environment and colonial societies, even as they had to rely on local knowledge and expertise in order to do so.⁶² Most importantly, no one has made a stronger case for the significance of hunting for colonial history than Edward Steinhart, whose *Black Poachers, White Hunters* considers the grafting of aristocratic hunting and the elimination of Kenyan hunting, including the use of horses and dogs, their transmutation into ‘poachers’ – a transformation completed by modern conservationism and postcolonial politics.⁶³ There is much more to be said about poaching, and indeed about its

commercial networks, but such struggles over the legitimacy of hunting have involved, for almost all of history, the question of *who* should hunt rather than whether one should hunt at all. Contemporary debates about, say, bush meat or trophy hunting, only serve to confirm the truth of this dictum. It is enough to note that the restrictions that codify 'legitimate' hunting are at least a thousand years old, and provide a link between the social snobbery of a vanished age and the seemingly objective science of contemporary conservation.

In this all too brief sketch, uneven and idiosyncratic as it must be, what strikes us are both the evident continuities, such as the stress on the construction of masculinities, the importance of spectacle and power, and the struggles over the limiting of hunting privileges, but also the changing nature of hunting and its connections with modernity. There are many reasons for associating hunting with modernity rather than with primal antiquity, and much of what we now associate with hunting is not at all sanctioned by the ages. If hunting for sport is 'a cultural, not a natural, activity', for instance, it is of very recent vintage.⁶⁴ Fox hunting in England (for instance) can be traced back to the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries, perhaps earlier, depending on whom one wishes to believe, and whether we focus on hunting with hounds or with the formation of 'hunts' – but its heyday certainly came in the nineteenth century, the enthusiasts of the new 'national sport' being the urbanised middle-classes rather than their social superiors, many of these women.⁶⁵ Fox hunting was central to the vision of a settled society, writes Raymond Carr, but the theme of his history of English hunts is that of *embourgeoisement*, the ability of this supposedly timeless pursuit to repeatedly recruit hunt followers and supporters.⁶⁶ 'It had all the appearance of something entirely new or newly wrought', so Adrian Franklin critically remarks, albeit with the previously despised fox as a sadly inedible stand-in for the deer or stag or hare.⁶⁷ Contemporary enthusiasts such as the philosopher Roger Scruton appeal to an imaginary tradition, but they ignore the fact that the things that made fox hunting possible in the nineteenth are far less viable in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.⁶⁸ Moreover, if fox hunting should be historically situated, for all its high status, so too should be its shadowy cousin, poaching. We can argue that poaching was similarly transformed by the opportunities opened up by an industrialising Britain – so much so that 'steam age poachers' seem to have forced landowners to move to more and more distant estates, the sporting preserves of northern England and highland Scotland, for instance, or even abroad.⁶⁹

Hunting's natures

Reflecting on the continuities and transformations of hunting also sharply qualifies our understanding of the hunt as a mediation between the worlds of 'culture' and 'nature'. In this vein, the anthropologist Matt Cartmill has influentially argued that the hunter stands *between* the world of the human and that of the wild – 'Because hunting takes place at the boundary between the human domain and the wilderness, the hunter stands with one foot on each side of the boundary, and swears no perpetual allegiance to either side' – though he is at pains to argue that this is not because of nature's implacable dictates but rather as a result of culture's endless permutations.⁷⁰ The problem with such a view (and it is much cited and circulated) is that the worlds

of nature and culture are here utterly opposed, in what seems merely the turning of evolutionary biology's naturalism on its head. Defining hunting as 'the deliberate, direct, violent killing of unrestrained wild animals', Cartmill could hardly put this opposition more starkly or vehemently:

The hunt is thus by definition an armed confrontation between humanness and wildness, between culture and nature. Because it involves confrontational, premeditated, and violent killing, it represents something like a war waged by humanity against the wilderness.⁷¹

Cartmill's excellent account, however, which does so much to return hunting to culture, and which explicitly considers the aesthetic models associated with arguments for the hunting hypothesis, is strangely blind to its own myths and memes, amongst which we surely have to put this purported alienation of 'man' from nature.⁷² Indeed, in the trope of 'war' he advances so cavalierly, Cartmill only reproduces the supposed 'enmity' between hunter and hunted essayed by 'Man the Hunter' enthusiasts Sherwood Washburn and C.S. Lancaster, or for that matter even the hunter-poet Ortega y Gasset's romantic image of 'man' as a 'fugitive' from nature.⁷³ Cartmill's lauded analysis, however critical and indispensable, cannot stand as a definition or a description of hunting, then or now. Perhaps only the 'collective cultural animus' against feared top predators such as the wolf really reflect this 'war' against an animal portrayed as the 'enemy' of human society.⁷⁴ The idea of a 'war' between hunter and prey is appealing in one sense to anti-hunting sensibilities – but neither historically nor anthropologically does this portrayal stand any serious scrutiny. Cartmill himself is at considerable pains to argue that hunting's advocates have simultaneously accepted, sometimes regretted, the violence involved in killing animals, the expulsion from paradise that this necessity seems to legislate, whilst insisting, without any perplexing contradiction, that hunting brings them closer to fellow animals and to nature. The idea that hunting is a matter of culture *opposed* to nature is in the end just as *culturally* overdetermined as the idea that hunting is a fact of nature. Worse, it ignores the changing historical relationship between hunters and the various animals they hunt.

Despite Cartmill's familiar and sturdily workable definition, for instance, it is not at all obvious that hunting always and everywhere means the pursuit of 'wild' animals. In today's world, of course, we might reasonably be sceptical about the idea that the chased animal is meaningfully wild. In contemporary Britain at least, much game is carefully preserved for hunters and shooting parties: foxes are not only provided with artificial earths, but caged, fed and watered until released for hunting, whilst pheasants are hatched in incubators, raised in factory conditions in sheds, moved to woodland pens, before being released to be shot; and so on.⁷⁵ Further afield, we might reflect on lions in southern Africa being raised for the business of so-called 'canned' hunting; trophy hunting in general is a by-product and financial lifeline for 'wildlife' conservation, with the knock-on effect of calling into question again what and where the 'wild' actually is.⁷⁶ It might seem anachronistic to cite such phenomena, but of course preserving and providing quarry has long been the business of the hunt. In the ancient world, exotic animals were imported specifically in order

to be pursued, in the arenas or in the ‘paradise parks’ and preserves of princes. Parks were established as far back as Roman times, with at that time exotic fallow deer, *dama dama*, taking the place of wild, native quarry.⁷⁷ A case can be made, says Geoffrey Kron, for the accreditation of the classical and Hellenistic Greeks for ‘game-farming’ in particular, as well as animal husbandry in general.⁷⁸ In the later middle ages in Europe, according to Joyce Salisbury, stags and does were domesticated enough to provide milk and venison without the necessity of hunting; such deer ‘lived on the border between wild and domesticated’.⁷⁹ In the deer parks that sprang up all over Europe from the twelfth century onwards, these semi-exotic fallow deer were nothing less than farmed for sport or convenience, in a predecessor of today’s ‘canned’ hunts. They were also *property*, not simply wild game.

Preserving game was hardly an historical aberration or modern innovation, then. From the point at which hunting becomes a preserve of the aristocracy, game management is installed as its essential accompaniment, the avoidance of overhunting being almost impossible to separate from the prosecution or persecution of illicit hunters. ‘Most hunting harks backwards and stands bluntly opposed to the march of progress’, writes the historian of British hunting Emma Griffin, but it ‘is not a timeless, peasant tradition, but an endless, and often artificial, attempt to protect huntable “wild” animals in an ever more cultivatable land’.⁸⁰ The long association of the aristocratic estates with nature and wildlife conservation, the familiar claim to stewardship and environmental leadership, must be tempered with an awareness of the often brutal consequences of making sure that the right animals are killed by the right people at the right times and in the right places.⁸¹ Most obviously, the business (and it was increasingly a business) of providing animals for sport suggests not that wildness is irrelevant to the practice and ethos of hunting – rather that such wildness has to be carefully defined, bounded by discourse and law if not by actual fences and walls.⁸² Naomi Sykes argues that in England the wild becomes, with the Norman regime, associated with the nobility, and ‘domestic’ with the common folk, a wholly new landscape superimposed upon the earlier mental geographies associated with animals and humans and the hunt.⁸³ Indeed, she makes the grand claim that over the very long term, we go ‘from a situation when the “wild” did not exist because it was *all* that existed, to a situation where it did not exist because humans had largely eradicated the elements that constituted the *wildeoren*’ or wilderness.⁸⁴ In a completely different setting, the Quabbin reservoir and reservation in western Massachusetts and the management of deer hunts in the twentieth century, studied by Jan Dizard, the white-tailed deer who flourished as the wolves and mountain lions were driven out exhibited ‘aspects of wildness’, but not (for him) genuine wilderness.⁸⁵ What these examples show, crudely abstracted as they are from the history of hunting, is that wildness is constructed as much as it is found, that hunters create rather than enter the natural world. We might note here too the obvious reliance of hunters on technology, such as the sportsman’s (or woman’s) gun.⁸⁶ Pro-hunters can write in praise of nature in these terms:

To be healthy and hungry in the wilds is the way of the hunter. He strips himself of society’s insulating layers of artificiality and becomes a player, a predator alive on a primal level. No longer just an observer, the hunter becomes an integral, working part of nature.⁸⁷

But it is clear that hunting's natures (again in the plural) are carefully mediated and curated. Indeed, as technology has improved, sport hunters have had to work harder to ensure that the contest with the prey animal is evenly balanced, in their terms: this is always supposed to be 'fair game', sport rather than slaughter.

What then of the claim that hunters' relationship with their prey is one of enmity, that hunting is 'an expression of human dominion' over nature?⁸⁸ In the widest perspective, without accepting the views of the hunting lobby wholesale, this is a puzzling claim. Sykes notes that 'even in periods where the prevailing worldview was one of human dominion over nature, wild animals – particularly those that were the focus of hunting – were not all perceived as inferior to people'.⁸⁹ Moreover, if there is a 'war against animals', as some have claimed, it is rather more obviously apparent in the industrial-scale of animal slaughter in the production of meat than in the activities of hunters – and indeed hunting as what Serpell calls 'a way of life' has 'almost vanished from the face of this planet'.⁹⁰ Serpell and others see the shift from hunting to farming as the real cause of a change in human relationships with other animals, and in his estimation hunters and gatherers typically, perhaps universally, do not see themselves as superior to (other) animals. Hunting may be 'the most openly "pleasurable" joy in killing animals', but the ethical difference between hunting for food and the animal–industrial complex is vast.⁹¹ In Tim Ingold's well-known anthropological account, indigenous hunters do not think of themselves in pursuit of 'wild' animals, nor in violent pursuit, but rather attempt to draw animals into the hunters' environment, which is a space of mutuality and coexistence, of *trust*.⁹² For Garry Marvin, notably, hunting's kills are passionate deaths, a form of 'wild killing', where the hunter competes with the animal, with the environment, or with himself or herself; in sport hunting this means 'an immersion into the very difficulty of bringing about an encounter with the animal and with the pleasure and satisfaction that comes from successfully overcoming these self-imposed restrictions and difficulties'.⁹³ For sure, hunting involves killing animals, whether or not we put the emphasis on the pursuit of the game rather than the endgame itself, or whether the hunt is 'successful'. This lends itself to the idea that hunting means domination, that the sense of connection with the quarry and game, with the natural world itself, is simply spurious. But in hunting, "Bloodlust" and the joy of the hunt coexist with love and veneration for the hunted animal'.⁹⁴ Moreover, in characteristically complex ways, the hunter must also become partly animal.⁹⁵ In the ecology of hunting, hunters have to recognise their quarry as selves, with points of view, in order to kill them and transform them into the other: in this way, animism and objectification coexist.⁹⁶ When Miles Olson's 'compassionate hunter' 'eats the animal they have killed, it becomes part of them. A death becomes a life; the predator and prey become one and the body of the dead, in a sense, lives on'.⁹⁷ Simply put, hunting is a cultural enclave in which animal and human identities are blurred.⁹⁸ Hunting has become iconic of an immersion with the natural world, an alternative to the 'great dualist machineries' of anthropocentric logic and culture.⁹⁹

What, then, and finally, of the role or 'agency' of nonhuman animals themselves? Barbara Ehrenreich, in her discussion of hunting and human evolution, remarks in passing that 'It is almost beyond us to think of animals as actors in their own right, following their own agendas – much less as actors which might have shaped the

course of human destiny'.¹⁰⁰ And yet it does not take too much imagination to consider animals' lively agencies; Ehrenreich reminds us that ancient humans did so, and of course many peoples outside the West continue to do so.¹⁰¹ In respect of hunting, I am thinking about the charisma of nonhuman animals themselves, the abilities and qualities, whether ascribed or actual, which justify the chase and determine the nature of the sport involved. We might also note, however, that animals are never mere targets, but have collectively and individually responded to being hunted, for instance by adapting to hunting pressures or the lack of them. What we see as 'tameness' may for instance be a product of the relaxation of hunting, as animals may lose their fear of humans in its absence.¹⁰² Or it might be hunting that empowers 'wild' animals: thus noble quarry like tigers in colonial India, reserved for princes, responded to their 'sovereign immunity' by attacking peasants and their livelihoods.¹⁰³ Alternatively, we might consider the traumatic effects on animals, again as individuals and populations, of hunting and poaching pressures.¹⁰⁴ We should note, lastly, the role that nonhumans play as partners rather than prey. Thus the thirteenth-century friar Albertus Magnus wrote in his treatise on animals of hunters with dogs 'collaborating' with birds of prey to catch birds.¹⁰⁵ The medievalist Joyce Salisbury similarly recognises that 'the success of the hunt depended as much on the skill of dogs as on humans', and that humans and animals joined in celebration of the victorious hunt by sharing the resultant meat.¹⁰⁶ Now we might cavil at words like 'collaboration' or 'alliance', but animals are plainly companion species in the hunt as well as the home.¹⁰⁷ In more modish language, Karen Jones writes of 'the natureculture of the nineteenth-century hunt', in which the hunter's dog existed in 'a borderland space, a realm of interspecies concord in which it (literally) ran the gamut from dumb/mechanical and loyal subaltern to expert hunter in possession of a form of furry personhood'.¹⁰⁸ It might be going too far to counter-hypothesise that hunting with other animals made us human, but it would be well to cultivate a sense of animals' agencies, even or especially in the histories of the hunt, and their role as 'lively fellow architects of hybrid landscapes'.¹⁰⁹

A comparison by way of a conclusion

Let me end not with a magisterial summary, which is both difficult and uncongenial, but with this contrast between a narrative of human authority, and this alternative sense of complex relations between humans and animals. It is easy, through the variants of the 'hunting hypothesis' to see hunting as an expression of humans' power over other animals, as (in Darwin's words) 'the most dominant animal that has ever appeared on the earth', or (in more recent assessment) 'the world's apex predator'.¹¹⁰ The caves of Lascaux in southwestern France (around 17000 BCE), famous for their portrayal of hunting, including indeed some species that may have been hunted to extinction, appeal in this way to those who see hunting as ancient, timeless, continuous – not just a 'basic fact of existence' for Stone Age people, but an index of the rightness and naturalness of hunting: 'Paleolithic cave drawings of game animals and hunt scenes are rendered with a loving reverence that is still evident today, thousands of years later'.¹¹¹ But it is worth reminding ourselves that we should not blunder into reading our *present* dominion into the prehistoric past. The even older

Chauvet cave system in the limestone gorges of the river Ardèche a few hundred kilometres away tells an apparently very different story to that of human hegemony. The images at Chauvet (dating from at least 25000 BCE) do not depict hunting, but betray an equally obvious fascination with the nonhuman animals with whom the artists shared their world (bears, lions and panthers, rhinos, mammoths, bison, oxen, horses, ibex, deer, owls). Several of these animals (the lions, mammoths and rhinos) do not appear to have been hunted at this time. Some of the images are intriguingly abstract, and some animals (as at Lascaux) are hybridised with human elements. This is another ‘hybrid landscape’ then, ‘a world in which humans were everywhere decisively outnumbered by large land animals and lived in intimate connection with them’.¹¹² No fully figured human is depicted, no explicit contrast between humans and hunted animals as we seem to see in Lascaux. Moreover, rather than an expression of incipient humanity that separates *us* from *them*, as suggested by the idea that these caves are a ‘Sistine Chapel’ of prehistory, or even (in the filmmaker Werner Herzog’s misleading summation) the birthplace of ‘the modern human soul’, they seem only partly or provisionally a *human* space, having been hollowed out by hibernating cave bears and only subsequently inhabited and decorated by humans.¹¹³ These bears, far bigger than their modern descendants, have even left their own traces, in their scratches and footprints. So instead of the lonely majesty of the human soul busy being born, the yawningly familiar ‘dawn of man’, it might be better to speak of the power of a more-than-human world where ‘human–animal–landscape relationships were interdependent’.¹¹⁴ If Lascaux can be made to say that hunting is ancient, and natural, and right, the Chauvet caves might serve to instruct us of the perils of simplifying either the history of hunting or the deep history in which humans and other animals are enmeshed. Instead of placing all these very different histories under the sign of *dominion*, ‘human’ *over* ‘animal’, we might reasonably suggest that these marvellous artefacts articulate the therianthrope interdependence of humans and other animals. And this might be a *nota bene* of some significance outside the cave.

Notes

- 1 J.D. Hughes, ‘Hunting in the ancient Mediterranean world’, in L. Kalof (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in Antiquity*, Oxford: Berg, 2007: 47–70, 51.
- 2 N. Sykes, *Beastly Questions: Animal Answers to Archaeological Issues*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, 51.
- 3 For caves as a source of hunting information, see S. Mithen, ‘Ecological interpretations of Paleolithic art’, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 57, 1 (1991): 103–114.
- 4 T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 206, 4; T. Kerasote, *Bloodties: Nature, Culture, and the Hunt*, New York: Kodansha, 1993, xvii. It is worth pointing out here that in Britain hunting is typically held distinct from shooting or fishing or trapping, but clearly its meaning is very broad. In what follows it will be seen that I have, for purposes of manageability neglected fishing, and indeed both commercial fishing and commercial hunting.
- 5 An enormous literature, but see D. van Reybrouck, *From Primitives to Primates: A History of Ethnographic and Primatological Analogies in the Study of Prehistory*, Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2012. For the ‘hunting hypothesis’, see R.B. Lee and I. DeVore, (eds.), *Man the Hunter*, Chicago IL: Aldine Transaction, 1968. For a well-known commentary on the

- abandonment of hunting and gathering as a tragedy, see J. Diamond, 'The worst mistake in the history of the human race', *Discover* 8, 5 (1987): 64–66, recapitulating in part the views of P. Shepard, *The Tender Carnivore and the Sacred Game*, New York: Scribner, 1973. If this was a 'mistake' for humans, it was a catastrophe for other animals: see Y.N. Harari, *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind*, London: Vintage, 2015, 109.
- 6 K. Wong, 'How hunting made us human', *Scientific American* 310, 4 (2014), available at www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-hunting-made-us-human/, last accessed 16 March 2017.
 - 7 This hypothesis is venerable and can be traced back at least to Darwin's speculations on bipedalism in *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, London: John Murray, 1871.
 - 8 W.M. Clark, 'Why hunt?', 2004, available at www.wildfowling.co.uk/magazine/whyhunt.htm, last accessed 16 March 2017. Republished as W.M. Clark, 'Hunting is a natural, ethical, and healthy undertaking', in D. Laney (ed.), *Hunting: Opposing Viewpoints in Context*, Farmington Hills MI: Greenhaven Press, 2008.
 - 9 Clark, 'Why hunt?'
 - 10 A.C. Clarke, *2001: A Space Odyssey*, London: Hutchinson, 1968.
 - 11 R. Ardrey, *The Hunting Hypothesis: A Personal Inquiry Concerning the Evolutionary Nature of Man*, London: Collins, 1976, 93.
 - 12 Cartmill, *View to a Death*, 14. See also B. Ehrenreich, *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War*, London: Virago, 1997, 36–57.
 - 13 D.J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, London: Free Association Books, 1991, 91.
 - 14 See for instance: S. Slocum, 'Woman the gatherer: male bias in anthropology', in R.R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, New York: Monthly Review, 1975, 36–50; M.Z. Stange, *Woman the Hunter*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1997; A. Zihlman and N. Tanner, 'Gathering and the hominid adaptation', in L. Tiger and A. Fowler (eds.), *Female Hierarchies*, Chicago IL: Beresford Book Service, 1978, 163–194.
 - 15 D.J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and nature in the World of Modern Science*, London: Routledge, 1989.
 - 16 R. Dart, 'The predatory transition from ape to man', *International Anthropological and Linguistic Review* 1, 4 (1953): 201–217, 209, cited by R.W. Sussman, 'Why the legend of the killer ape never dies: the enduring power of cultural beliefs to distort our view of human nature', in D.P. Fry (ed.), *War, Peace, and Human Nature: The Convergence of Evolutionary and Cultural Views*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 101.
 - 17 P.Y. Lee, 'Introduction: housing slaughter', in P.Y. Lee (ed.), *Meat, Modernity, and the Rise of the Slaughterhouse*, Durham NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008, 1–9, 3.
 - 18 C.B. Stanford, *The Hunting Apes: Meat Eating and the Origins of Human Behavior*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, 5.
 - 19 Despite its identification as 'myth', it can still just about claim to be the 'traditional view': see J.D. Speth, *The Paleoanthropology and Archaeology of Big Game Hunting: Protein, Fat, or Politics?* New York: Springer, 2010. For some relatively recent work, see K. Milton, 'A hypothesis to explain the role of meat-eating in human evolution', *Evolutionary Anthropology* 8, 1 (1999): 11–21. See M. Domínguez-Rodrigo, 'Hunting and scavenging by early humans: the state of the debate', *Journal of World Prehistory* 16, 1 (2002): 1–54. Qualifications include the vulnerability of early humans and protohumans to being themselves hunted: as the basis for the human sacralisation of war this is discussed in Ehrenreich, *Blood Rites*, but more recent discussion can be found in D. Hart and R.W. Sussman, *Man the Hunted: Primates, Predators, and Human Evolution*, expanded edition, New York: Westview Press, 2009.

- 20 Speth, *Paleoanthropology and Archaeology*. See ‘Meat eating behind evolutionary success of humankind, global population spread, study suggests’, *Science Daily*, 12 April 2012, available at www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2012/04/120420105539.htm, last accessed 16 March 2017; R. McKie, ‘Humans hunted for meat 2 million years ago’, *Guardian*, 23 September 2012, available at www.theguardian.com/science/2012/sep/23/human-hunting-evolution-2million-years, last accessed 16 March 2017; J. Kluger, ‘Sorry vegans – meat-eating made us human’, *Time*, 9 March 2016, available at <http://time.com/4252373/meat-eating-veganism-evolution/>, last accessed 16 March 2017.
- 21 M. Sisson, ‘Real primal: hunting for dinner’, 4 February 2009, available at www.marks-dailyapple.com/hunting-ethics/, last accessed 16 March 2016.
- 22 D. Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill*, revised edition, New York: Open Road, 2014; Sykes, *Beastly Questions*, 51, 162. See N. Fiddes, *Meat: A Natural Symbol*, London: Routledge, 1991.
- 23 Lee, ‘Introduction: housing slaughter’, 3: ‘meat-eating in the modern world has been narrated through ideology rather than physiology’.
- 24 Speth, *Paleoanthropology and Archaeology*.
- 25 See M. Gurven and K. Hill, ‘Why do men hunt? A reevaluation of “man the hunter” and the sexual division of labour’, *Current Anthropology* 50, 1 (2009): 51–74.
- 26 Allsen, *Royal Hunt*, 2.
- 27 On this important theme, almost wholly neglected in this chapter, see J. Richards, *The World Hunt: An Environmental History of the Commodification of Animals*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2014. For ‘accumulation by appropriation’, see J. Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life*, London: Verso, 2015.
- 28 Allsen, *Royal Hunt*, 274.
- 29 For social and political drama, see G. Marvin, ‘The problem of foxes: legitimate and illegitimate killing’, in J. Knight (ed.), *Natural Enemies: People–, Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective*, London: Routledge, 2000, 189–211.
- 30 J.K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1985.
- 31 See M.Z. Stange, C.K. Oyster, and J.E. Sloan (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Women in Today’s World*, Volume 1, Los Angeles CA: Sage, 2011; J.M. Adovasio, O. Soffer and J. Page, *The Invisible Sex: Uncovering the True Roles of Women in Prehistory*, Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 2007.
- 32 J.M. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- 33 Marc Boglioli notes American hunting’s ‘extreme gender specificity’: M. Boglioli, *A Matter of Life and Death: Hunting in Contemporary Vermont*, Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009, 12.
- 34 Hughes, ‘Hunting in the ancient Mediterranean world’, 65–66.
- 35 M. Allen, ‘Not just dormice – food for thought?’, emphasis in the original, available at <https://notjustdormice.wordpress.com/2015/01/22/hunting-in-the-roman-world-anthropology-animal-bones-and-ancient-literature/>, last accessed 16 March 2016.
- 36 Discussed in Sykes, *Beastly Questions*, 66–68. See K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- 37 Sykes, *Beastly Questions*, 159.
- 38 S. Perdikaris and J. Woollett, ‘Hunting’, in P.J. Crabtree (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology: An Encyclopedia*, New York: Garland, 2001, 168–170.
- 39 For more on medieval hawking, see: J. Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1988; R.S. Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2004.

- 40 A. Rooney, *Hunting in Middle English Literature*, Cambridge: Boydell Press, 1993, 15. 'Phrases of the field' comes from Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*.
- 41 Rooney, *Hunting*.
- 42 W.P. Marvin, *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006, 26.
- 43 Sykes, *Beastly Questions*, 75.
- 44 R.B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485–1640*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, 17.
- 45 See E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990; B.A. Hanawalt, 'Men's games, King's deer: poaching in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18, 2 (1988): 175–193.
- 46 Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*.
- 47 H. Brody, 'The hunter's view of landscape: a response to Roger Scruton', *Open Democracy*, 21 August 2002, www.opendemocracy.net/ecology-hunting/article_430.jsp, last accessed 22 October 2016.
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